FIRST YEAR'S GIVE-AWAY SCORE: HARRY LEVINE

THE Nation

January 16, 1954

20¢

It's a Republican Recession

by Fritz Sternberg

Peripheral Strategy — *J. A. del Vayo*

Friction with Canada — *Mark Gayn*

Psychology and Religion — *Waldo Frank*

A Review of Five Books on Psychology

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Rehabilitation of a Forest

Portland, Ore.

SHARP-EYED motorists driving through the vast Tillamook Burn country of northwestern Oregon last summer could detect tiny blotches of green scattered through the brush-brown devastation. This country's worst forest desert was coming to life.

Just twenty years ago last August a forest fire "blew up" in the region with volcanic ferocity. Along a fifteen-mile front the flames leaped skyward with the roar of a hundred hurricanes. A gigantic smoke cloud mushroomed nine thousand feet into the air. The conflagration built its own destructive tornadoes which ripped up huge Douglas firs by the roots and tossed them about like matchsticks. A rain of sparks endangered nearby towns. The sun was so blotted out that chickens went to roost at midday. Debris piled up two feet deep on the Oregon beaches. Ashes fell on ships five hundred miles out at sea.

When fog crept finally in from the ocean to subdue flames that three thousand men could not stop, 270,000 acres had been turned into black desolation. A rich fish and game area had been wiped out. Little was left of one of the world's finest timber stands, containing enough top-grade lumber to meet the nation's demands for a year.

In summer the Burn is still a great powderkeg. New fires, striking every six years with strange regularity, have charred additional thousands of acres, until loggers believe the region is jinxed. State foresters are now out to beat that jinx, but it will be a tough job.

Five years ago Oregon voters approved a $10,500,000 program of rehabilitating the state's forest lands. The Tillamook Burn was the first objective. Oregonians are proud of the fact that they are doing the job without federal assistance. "There most certainly is hope for the Burn now," says Lynn Cronemiller, assistant state forester who was in command at the time of the 1933 disaster. "It's a good feeling to be one of those helping to make it a forest once more."

A WASTELAND of this size has never been reclaimed in forest history. The rehabilitation program—foresters shudder at the term "reforestation"—has turned the Burn into a vast laboratory and tree farm. New economical methods of hand-planting, aerial seeding, rodent control, and snag falling have been developed. Sixty trusties from the state prison are part of the working force.

Before planting can be done, upright dead trees—known as snags—on which fire might travel, must come down, firebreaks from sixty to two hundred feet wide must be constructed, and all debris must be cleared away. Next seed-eating rodents must be got rid of. Most of the five-county area is being carved into 10,000-acre blocks as insurance against another uncontrollable conflagration. When everything is ready, helicopters roar in to spread fir and cedar seed, and where the on-end topography makes it necessary, crews enter to plant seedling trees by hand.

As warden of the northwest district Edward Schroeder has the job of coordinating the three-pronged program of fire protection, tree planting, and land management. His job is considered unique in the United States. With a growing investment in new forest, the state has substantially built up its fire-fighting equipment and personnel. Last summer Oregon budgeted $233,472 for fire protection, compared with $132,000 seven years ago.

There has been a marked change of attitude among loggers in the Burn. State foresters were at first received coldly. Rocks were even hurled at Schroeder and his men. Now the loggers are fully behind the foresters, even though the stepped-up inspections of the fire patrol may shut down their operations without notice.

To date about 28 per cent of the Burn has been replanted at a cost of $1,803,178.83. In 15,230 acres tiny seedlings to the number of 13,325,000 have been set by hand, while 36,050 acres have been seeded from the air. Crews have built forty-eight miles of fire breaks and are working on nine more miles, have felled 195,600 snags, and have built 130 miles of access roads to speed fire fighters to any danger point.

Even after two decades timber salvage by private logging companies continues on a large scale and is expected to go on for at least ten more years. Secretary of the Interior McKay, a former governor of Oregon, calls this something of a miracle. Contrary to popular belief, fire kills but does not destroy big timber; worms boring into the dead trees do the damage. Fortunately, worms have not been active in the Tillamook Burn, and much more timber has been salvaged than was at first thought possible.

THREE OTHER FACTORS have stimulated the salvage work—inflationary lumber prices, unprecedented demand during and after the war, and the use of new by-products. Salvaging was begun by the big companies before the embers cooled in 1933. Now smaller outfits continue to get out solid timber. Tiny portable mills are even cutting small stuff which would have been allowed to rot a few years ago. This work is upsetting the tree-planting schedule, so that it may take more than fifteen years to complete the job.

Scout troops and youth clubs are helping. Each spring pupils of the Tillamook County grade schools turn out 500 to 800 strong to plant seedlings. Special tracts are set aside for development as forest-camp and picnic areas. The foresters' biggest headache is keeping the public in bounds when the Oregon woodlands have been sucked dry of moisture by the east winds of summer and fall. Despite the work of the Keep Green programs, it appears that people still have a lot to learn. Ex-logger Stewart Holbrook, a famous Oregon author, puts it this way: "Unless Americans as a whole drastically change some of their habits and their ways of what passes for thinking, we shall still have the chief problem of forestry right in our laps. I mean the absolute prevention of forest fires." ELLIS LUCIA

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Seeds of Conflict

The President's State of the Union message was a grab-bag with something in it for almost everybody. For this very reason its proposals, to be spelled out in a series of supplementary messages, carry the seeds of many tough Congressional fights. Republican rightists already look askance at paragraphs promising New Dealish measures to combat economic regression, to expand foreign trade, and to check further tax reductions; the farm bloc does not like even the thought of flexible rather than rigid price supports. On defense and foreign policy, the President's indorsement of continued aid—especially military—to our allies abroad will not please the right-wing isolationists, although the Democrats and "Eisenhower Republicans" may approve that policy while worrying over his emphasis on atomic weapons and air power as the new basis of American military plans.

Going McCarthy One Better

The President's astonishing proposal that Congress pass a law revoking the citizenship of anyone convicted under the Smith Act is practically guaranteed to cause trouble in both camps—in spite of the fact that it won more applause than any other point in his message. Ostensibly its purpose is to deprive Senator McCarthy of his role as Republican Torquemada by going him one better. But such tactics, if seriously pursued, can only result in cold war between the McCarthyites and the Jenner-Brownell-Nixon wing, while disgusting Republican moderates and all liberals of both parties. Not to mention the fact that the President will probably need a Constitutional amendment rather than a mere law to deprive born Americans of their nationality.

Outside Congress the proposal has inevitably been taken, both here and abroad, as proof that Eisenhower's views on the problem of dealing with subversion differ only in form from those of his rightist opponents. Almost more significant of this fact was the President's omission of any reference to the McCarran immigration law, to which the citizenship proposal provides a perfect counterpart. At a time when attack on the law had assumed politically threatening proportions Mr. Eisenhower himself advocated changes to rid it of various unjust and otherwise objectionable features. Conveniently this fact was brushed aside when the grab-bag was filled. But it has not been forgotten by those who have dedicated themselves to a fight against the measure, especially Representative Celler and Senator Lehman, nor will it be ignored by other legislators who represent parts of the country where large numbers of foreign-born citizens live and vote.

The Season for Appropriations

This is the time for appropriations hearings, when even the most arrogant of Congressional committee chairmen must make a show of politeness and good manners. In such a season it is good politics to let the public believe that the inquisitorial committees will be curbed.

This year the note of repentance and reform was sounded somewhat earlier than usual, and in strange quarters. Senator McCarran, ranking Democrat on the Internal Security subcommittee, rapped McCarthy for failure to observe jurisdictional lines and made him grin and appear to like it. Then came the usual spate of proposals to reform the inquisitorial committees, voiced by Senators Gillette, Ellender, McClellan, and others. Meanwhile Senator McCarthy was spending a week-end at the same hotel in Miami as Vice-President Nixon and Assistant Attorney General William P. Rogers. On returning to Washington, the busybody Vice-President "leaked" a story to the New York *Times,* New York *Herald Tribune,* Baltimore *Sun,* and Washington *Post* to the effect that McCarthy had promised the Administration that he would mend his ways and sin no more.

Not the man to be pushed around by a cute public-relations trick, McCarthy denounced the story as an outright lie. The choice of the newspapers used to kite the report would indicate that the Vice-President wanted to induce some important critics of McCarthy to believe that the Administration actually intended to curb his activities. The witch-hunters compete with each other and have personal enemies in Congress, but only a few of their

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colleagues will oppose them on principle. For example, Senator Ellender would like to see McCarthy curbed because his witch-hunting has been neither efficient nor fruitful. "How many Communists has he found on his own?" asks Ellender. "How many Communists have been punished because of his investigations?" It is good to have this implied admission that the committees have abandoned their proper task, which is investigation looking toward legislation, and are functioning to ferret out and punish individuals. But Senator Ellender's position merely points up the weakness of much of the current opposition to McCarthy, which opposes the man and not the ism.

Corporate Dinosaur

That corporate dinosaur, the General Electric Company, has grown so rankly that one-half of its mind does not know what the other half is thinking. On January 5 the international division of the company helped sponsor an advertisement reprinting the Final Declaration of the Fortieth National Foreign Trade Convention, which stated *inter alia:*

> The flow of imports into the United States, whether or not in competition with goods produced domestically, serves . . . not only to enrich the consumer economy but also to sustain a commensurate volume of exports. At the same time, our imports provide the means by which foreign nations can earn dollars to repay the loans and service the investments which Americans make abroad.

The very day that this advertisement appeared, James M. Crawford, vice-president and general manager of G. E.'s motor and generator division, asked the Army Corps of Engineers to cancel a contract recently awarded to a British firm for two generators for the McNary Dam project. The English Electric Company's bid was $641,225 less than G. E.'s, and in addition it has to pay import duties of $422,000. However, Mr. Crawford claimed that this saving was unreal, since the purchase of the generators from G. E. would mean the payment of a larger sum in federal, state, and local taxes.

The fallacy of considering a transaction such as this in isolation should be pointed out to Mr. Crawford by his colleagues in International G. E. They might remind him that the dollars paid to the British firm will be returned directly or indirectly to this country to pay for American products or to service the British debt to the United States. They could also call his attention to the fact that since our exports of electrical goods vastly exceed imports, G. E. has far more to gain from relaxed trade restrictions than it will lose by the award of a few contracts to foreign competitors.

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Lady from Altoona

For the last three years Chet Huntley—a radio-television news commentator who has won the admiration of a wide audience in Southern California for his cool indifference to the pressure tactics of zealots and other zanies—has been the target of an irresponsible and incredibly vicious campaign to drive him from the ABC network. The leader of this campaign, on which we have commented several times, has been a lady of large means and strange notions who forsook Altoona, Pennsylvania, for Los Angeles some years back and has since made quite a name for herself as a public scold. Last week, the lady, Mrs. Rae Suchman, delivered a $10,000 check and a handsome apology to Huntley in settlement of a slander action that he had finally been forced to file.

Much as it pained the lady from Altoona to write the check, it must have been still more painful for the Hearst-owned Los Angeles *Evening Herald and Express,* a newspaper that had given the campaign its unprincipled and enthusiastic support, to publish her retraction: "I wish to state publicly that I have no evidence which would indicate that Mr. Huntley is other than a patriotic, loyal American. I have no evidence which in any way links him with any subversive organization or undertaking. This statement is a public apology by me for any contribution I may have made to organized efforts to silence him or to induce advertisers to withdraw sponsorship of his broadcasts."

The Fifth Amendment in Massachusetts

ON JANUARY 5 the Supreme Court of Massachusetts heard oral arguments in a case that may well mark a turning point in the current drive to nullify the Fifth Amendment by indirection.

The facts are simply stated. George R. Faxon, a master at the Boston Latin School, a public school, was called before the Jenner committee on March 25, 1953, and in the course of a brief interrogation invoked the privilege against self-incrimination when questioned about his political activities, including possible membership in the Communist Party. A teacher in the Boston school system for the last seventeen years, with time out for service in the army during World War II, Faxon enjoyed full tenure rights under the Massachusetts law. After a hearing on written charges he was dismissed on June 22 for "conduct unbecoming a teacher."

The charges were originally four: that he had declined to answer questions before the Senate committee; that during a period in 1949 and for some time earlier he had been a member of the Communist Party; that while a teacher he had held or permitted to be held in his home meetings of the "pro" group of the Communist Party; and that he had committed perjury in his appearance before the committee. But the order of dismissal was based on one ground only, that he had refused to answer certain questions. Similar cases involving teachers who have invoked the Fifth Amendment have arisen in other jurisdictions, but these cases have turned on the construction of state loyalty enactments or special provisions in particular tenure codes. The Faxon case is not complicated by any special considerations of this sort, and it is before the court on a stipulated set of facts. Thus the issue which the Massachusetts Supreme Court will decide in the next month or so is this: does it constitute "conduct unbecoming a teacher"—a stated ground for discharge under the tenure code—for a teacher to invoke the protection of a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States? A perfect test case, Faxon vs. the School Committee of the City of Boston, is before a strong and able court whose members have not been disturbed by the tides of fear and hysteria which have been running through the federal judicial system.

THE IMPORTANCE of the case is much enhanced by the development of an extremely interesting situation at the Lynn plant of the General Electric Company. On November 19 Senator McCarthy appeared in Boston and summoned certain employees of the company to answer charges which had been made against them by William T. Teto, an informer with a fascinating police record. Five of the witnesses invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment and were promptly suspended by General Electric. The company had not at that time (November 20) announced its new personnel policy, but on December 9, at noon, the new policy, on which we commented in last week's issue, was released to the press, and the story appeared in the afternoon newspapers that same day. At six the following morning the employees of the Lynn plant began to cast their ballots in an important jurisdictional election scheduled some months before by the National Labor Relations Board.

In essence, the new G. E. personnel policy provides that any employee who at a public hearing of a Congressional committee invokes the Fifth Amendment in refusing to testify concerning Communist affiliations shall be subject to suspension for a period of ninety days without loss of pay. If within this period the employee reappears before the committee, answers all questions, and "shall not have admitted being a Communist or engaged in espionage or sabotage," or shall have obtained from an accredited security agency a written certification that the agency has found no evidence to indicate that the employee is a Communist or is otherwise a substantial security risk, then the suspension may be set aside. Made retroactive to cover the Lynn cases by a provision which reads, "The company will suspend in

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like manner any employee who has so invoked the Fifth Amendment within the past six months," the new policy has been hailed with enthusiasm by a spokesman for the Pentagon, who has suggested that the Defense Department should be given authority to ban "security risks" from working in any plant that might be "indispensable" in the event of war. As a pilot operation the G. E. policy and cases arising under it will be closely watched by such groups as the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

IN PASSING it may be noted that this is not the first time a Congressional committee has become interested in "subversive activities" at the Lynn plant on the eve of a union election. On August 15, 1951, the first page of the *Daily Evening Item* of Lynn carried the headlines: "16,000 to Ballot in G. E. Poll" and "U. S. Calls U. E. Organizer to Capital Grill." The following statement appeared below the latter headline: "Almost on the eve of the collective-bargaining election tomorrow at the River Works and Everett plants of the General Electric Company, a United States marshal served a subpoena on Don Tormey of Beverly, an organizer for the United Electrical Workers, Independent, to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee."

As in 1951, the U. E. lost the recent election to the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (I. U. E.-C. I. O.), this time by the close margin of a few hundred votes. As the recognized collective-bargaining agency for all employees, including those who are not members of the union, the I. U. E. has the obligation to process grievances which arise under the agreement. Of the five employees who were suspended, two are members of the I. U. E., one is a member of an A. F. of L. craft union, one is not a union member, and the other claims to be a member of the I. U. E. but is not recognized by it as such. Presumably the union will process the grievances which have been filed, thus bringing the issue before a top union-management session for final disposition. If management rejects the grievance, the possibility of further legal action will still be open, and the Boston chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has already appointed a special committee to study the issues.

Thus should the Massachusetts Supreme Court decide that a teacher does not forfeit tenure by invoking the Fifth Amendment, it will be difficult for matter-of-fact folk to understand why G. E. employees should not have the same privilege. It is altogether likely therefore that Massachusetts, which did not get around to adding a free-speech guaranty to its constitution until a few years ago, will have the honor of vindicating one of the most important provisions of the Bill of Rights, thereby setting a fine example to the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the federal government.

Under the caption "Private Constitutional Repeal," the *Berkshire Evening Eagle* (Pittsfield, Massachusetts) has admirably summed up the importance of the issue which is so clearly involved in both the Faxon and G. E. cases:

> We are frank to say we are shocked at the new rule of the General Electric Company suspending any employee invoking the Fifth Amendment when being questioned by a governmental investigating agency. In effect, G. E. has proclaimed that the protection against self-incrimination has been repealed as far as the company is concerned. . . . Taking away a man's livelihood is one of the notorious punitive methods of totalitarian régimes. The revocation of a vital right by private action not only has an evil look in this instance, but it has even more sinister implications. If a man can be disciplined for invoking one constitutional right, why not for invoking others? If appealing to the Fifth Amendment brings discharge, why cannot an appeal to the First Amendment, guaranteeing free speech, incur the same penalty? Why cannot mentioning the Constitution at all be specified as grounds for dismissal? What is the new Americanism, when invoking the document on which American liberties and the American nation itself are based is treated as an admission of treason?

Peripheral Strategy

By J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

TWO American news items continue to be the subject of numerous European commentaries: President Eisenhower's announcement that two of the seven American divisions now in Korea are to be called home and Defense Secretary Wilson's cut of three to three and one-half billion dollars from the 1954-55 army estimates. As usual, public opinion here fastens upon the original statements. When, a couple of days or so later, the President or some member of his Cabinet tries to soften their effect at a press conference or in a speech specially made for the purpose, his "clarifications" are not taken seriously except by a few uncritical pro-Americans. For the rest, the politicians, newspapers, and general public keep on believing the first pronouncement rather than the afterthought. European comments on the American military "new look" are a case in point.

Out of all that has been said and written on the subject in the United States in recent days, two lines of thought have emerged which will profoundly influence European politics in the months ahead. First, that the American chiefs of staff have no fixed idea as to what the structure of America's armed forces will be in ten years' time. New arms are multiplying; combat units are altered accordingly. This elasticity of approach is well understood here and judged to be reasonable. But what the French do not consider reasonable is that

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Washington, while thinking in this elastic manner, insists upon imposing a much more rigid plan upon the Europeans. As "Pertinax" puts it, "Our American allies proclaim themselves—to use Admiral Radford's word—'incapable' of forecasting the structure of their armed forces for the next ten years. But the E. D. C. plan is supposed to bind us for the next fifty years."

The "new look's" emphasis both on the development of air power and on the use of atomic weapons by land and sea forces as well as aviation has strengthened European belief in, and uneasiness over, the tendency of the American military chiefs to replace men by machines. The French above all are beginning to think that the Americans will not keep troops in Europe any longer than the Pentagon thinks necessary for strategic reasons and the State Department for political reasons. At one time they used to ascribe Mr. Dulles's explosions—such as the one that marked his last visit here—to his choleric temper. But they have discovered that not only Mr. Dulles himself but a large sector of American opinion has been convinced by the campaign that "Europe is not doing its duty." They noted with concern the news that violent applause greeted Mr. Dulles's image every time he appeared on the Radio City screen making his "agonizing reappraisal" statement at the Paris press conference. The New York correspondent of the *Journal de Genève* commented: "Mr. Dulles gets even bigger applause than the dog trainer whose number follows his appearance."

The cut in the personnel of the American armed forces is viewed here as the logical result of the preference shown by Admiral Radford and his close collaborators for air power and the new weapons. This, and the building up of home defenses on the American continent, strengthens the impression that the progressive withdrawal of United States forces from Europe has been decided upon, in spite of the many denials. So profound a change in Washington's basic plans cannot be made overnight; but it is taken for granted by informed persons here that the "new look" is motivated by something more than a desire to put pressure on the French deputies who oppose E. D. C. and German rearmament.

THE SECOND important conclusion which Europeans—in some countries more than in others—have drawn from recent Washington pronouncements is that peripheral strategy is the product of what could be called "military isolationism." Developments in American technology offering new possibilities for using aviation, such as refueling in full flight, directed missiles, easily transportable atomic weapons like the new "baby bomb," together with the possession of more and more widespread and numerous bases, clearly permit a considerable reduction of military personnel.

On the one hand, a partial withdrawal of American armed forces from Europe would be welcome if it were motivated and accompanied by a decrease in international tension, a general *détente*. But the move is disturbing rather than encouraging when it is related to the policy of a "strong hand" and "liberation." In the opinion of highly responsible Europeans whom I have talked with, the new American strategy would be a step down the road of no return toward atomic war if Washington and Moscow should fail to settle their differences in the next few years.

SO 1954 HAS BEEN greeted with mixed sentiments. There are, indeed, quite a few favorable portents. Hopes have been raised by the imminent Russian-American talks on President Eisenhower's proposed atomic-energy "pool" for peaceful purposes; by Moscow's acceptance in principle, in the Soviet note on the Eisenhower proposal, of a suggestion by the U. N. Political Committee that the confidential talks might be used to end the present deadlock on disarmament; by persistent rumors from Vienna of a forthcoming sensational Russian announcement on Austria, and from London on the real import of the Churchill-Malik meeting and the Soviet ambassador's subsequent departure for Moscow; and last but not least by the Berlin conference due to open on January 25 and Malenkov's message to the American people in his interview with Kingsbury Smith. In both Paris and London the tone of the interview which Malenkov granted to the I. N. S. correspondent is interpreted as another indication that the Kremlin intends to push its peace campaign more vigorously in 1954.

But there is no lack of discouraging signs. In addition to feeling uneasy about American strategic plans, Europeans are worried by Washington's Asian policy. They are disturbed by the apparent determination of the United States to carry out the arms deal with Pakistan without regard to the extreme opposition of New Delhi or to hostile press comments from Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia—the countries supporting Nehru's neutrality policy; by the rumors of enlarged plans for a Middle Eastern Defense Organization, giving definite preference to the Arab states over Israel, as part of the same peripheral strategy which led to the agreements with Pakistan and Spain; and by Mr. Dulles's warning to Peking on the present Viet Minh offensive in Indo-China, which is taken to indicate the lengths to which Washington might go to protect America's peripheral positions. Mr. Dulles surely believes that if the threatened reprisals became necessary—a blockade of the Chinese coast or the bombing of China's industrial centers and lines of communication—they would not inevitably lead to a general war. But in the European view the risk is great.

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HERE'S THE SCORE

On the G. O. P.'s Give-away . . . *by Harry Levine*

Washington

IN TWELVE months the Eisenhower Administration has succeeded in giving away more of the country's national resources, and of the taxpayers' money, than any other Administration in history. The amount, Senator Morse said recently, "makes Teapot Dome pale into insignificance." At the very most Teapot Dome was worth $500,000,000; at the very least the Eisenhower Administration has already given away $1,500,000,000. This includes only such items as can be evaluated; the over-all total is beyond anyone's guess at this stage. Almost all the items so far disposed of have been in the field of banking, public power, or offshore oil. A tentative attack has also been started on federal grazing and forest lands.

Banking: At least $671,000,000 has been handed out this year to banks, insurance companies, or large corporations. Let's see where and how. Of the total federal debt held by the general public, roughly half, or $110,000,000,000, is held by banks, insurance companies, and corporations; $73,000,000,000 by banks alone. Every time, then, that the Treasury offers higher interest rates on new bond issues, especially if they are not savings bonds, the bulk of the profit goes directly into the tills of the large banks.

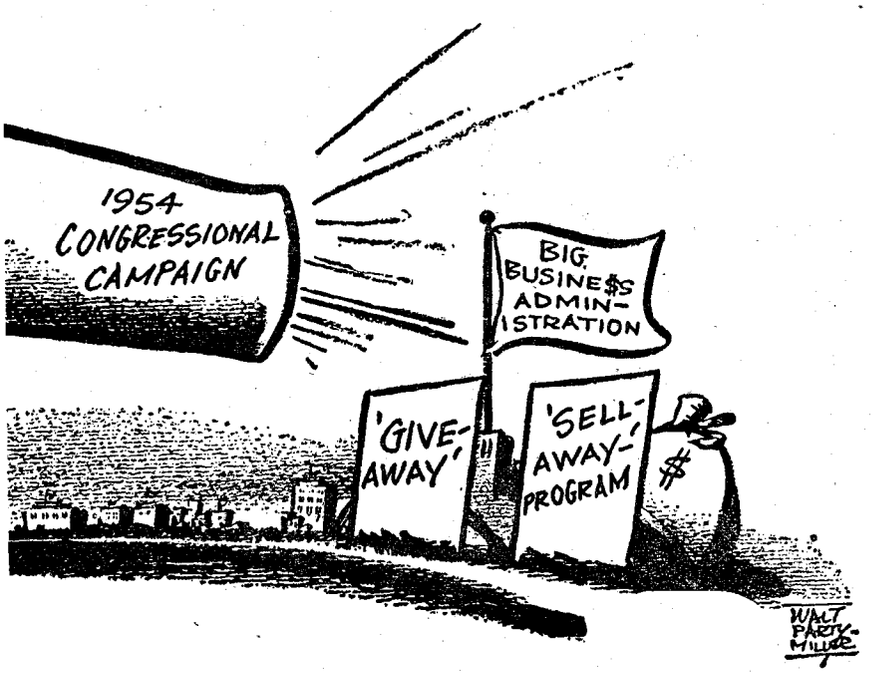
For instance, on January 29, 1953, the Treasury issued $9,000,000,000 in short-term bonds and one-year certificates. This issue replaced previous ones and raised the interest on the bonds from 1⅞ per cent to 2½ per cent and on the certificates from 1⅞ to 2¼ per cent. On the one-year certificates alone, which are bought mainly by the bigger banks, United States taxpayers will have to pay an additional $30,000,000 in interest this year. The short-term bonds will cost taxpayers another million.

On April 8 last year $1,000,000,000 in thirty-year bonds was issued at 3¼ per cent instead of at the previous interest rate of 2½ per cent. The added cost to taxpayers was $7,500,000 in 1953 and will be $225,000,000 by the time the bonds mature. On May 18 one-year certificates to the amount of $5,700,000,000 were issued at 2⅝ per cent, the highest rate in twenty years. Previous rates were 1⅞ and 2 per cent. This cost the public $42,000,000 more last year.

AN INTERESTING aspect of these transactions is that most of the gravy was out of the reach of smaller banks. Because their investments are normally in long-term bonds, many smaller banks did not have the ready capital with which to buy the new higher-yield bonds. And with existing bonds forced ten points below par, for the first time in years, they could not sell old bonds to meet loan demands without taking a loss. The larger commercial banks, with more short-term investments and more money coming in, were able to make a killing.

In a more sensitive field, closer to the individual, the government has cut a $286,000,000 pie for mortgage bankers. It has done this through veterans' housing loans. On May 2 the Veterans Administration raised the interest rate on G. I. home loans from 4 to 4½ per cent. The sole beneficiaries of this extra ½ per cent are mortgage bankers and other money lenders from whom veterans obtain loans for home building. On a typical mortgage of $9,000 the veteran will have to pay the bank $2.43 more each month, $29.16 more a year, or a total of $583.20 more in twenty years. Since the Veterans Administration expects to make 456,000 G. I. loans in the present fiscal year, mortgage bankers will pick up an additional $265,000,000 from veterans in the next twenty years. For the individual veteran the loss will amount approximately to the cost of one bedroom. For the general public the added ½ per cent which the government will pay the banks for all veterans' housing loans will mean a loss of $20,000,000 in fiscal 1954 alone.

The interest rate on loans for homes insured by the Federal Housing Admin-



Courtesy York *Gazette and Daily*

Pass the Ammunition

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istration was also raised on May 2—from 4¼ to 4½ per cent. This means that on a $10,000 twenty-year mortgage the home builder will have to pay $360 more. On the basis of last year's figures, 246,000 F. H. A. loans are expected this year, which will increase the mortgage bankers' revenue by $87,000,000.

Power: Senator Wayne Morse said on the floor of the Senate last June 22:

> After the dams are built with the taxpayer's dollars—and they are multipurpose dams—we then have nothing by way of a transmission line over which to send the power. We all know what the play will be. The play will be by the private utilities. "Oh, we will take the power. We will send it over our lines." They will be in a very advantageous position, too. Then they will sell the power at their rates, and every consumer along the line will pay tribute to the monopoly.

No one as yet has been able to estimate how much the power interests have grabbed in the first year of the Eisenhower Administration. Senator Morse, in discussing the matter with this writer recently, emphasized the difficulty of calculating the loss: "This is thievery by legislation," he said, "or worse yet by change of policy. It can't be added up in dollars and cents." Oscar Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior, analyzed the power situation succinctly: "What the Republicans are doing is cutting the budget on public power projects just enough so that private utilities still get their power at the dam sites while transmission lines for Rural Electrification Administration cooperatives are eliminated."

THE MAIN TARGET in the power give-away, of course, has been the R. E. A. co-ops. The war of attrition against them has been conducted directly by cutting funds for federal transmission lines and generating facilities and indirectly by by-passing preference provisions in public-power acts which give priority on low-cost power to groups distributing power on a non-profit basis —namely, R. E. A. co-ops and municipal and other public utility groups.

The list of federal power projects cut by the Eisenhower Administration is an impressive one. The Southwestern Power Administration was allotted more than $5,500,000 for its continuing fund by the Truman Administration; the Eisenhower budget cut the appropriation down to $3,750,000. The House whittled this down to $150,000 —"just enough to let the S. P. A. carry out its contracts with commercial utilities but not with co-ops," remarked the Democratic National Committee. Present Senate plans call for a restored continuing fund of $2,000,000.

The Southeastern Power Administration's allotment of $6,700,000 for transmission-line construction was cut to zero by Eisenhower and Congress. This has thrown most of the existing and potential power from federal dams into the hands of commercial power companies. Public and co-op groups will now have to buy federal water power from private suppliers.

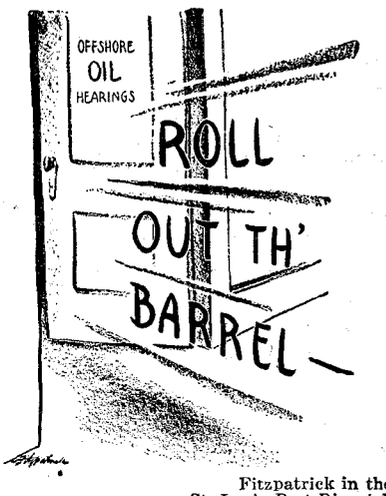
The Bonneville Power Administration was allotted $55,200,000 by Truman for construction; the sum has been cut to $38,300,000, eliminating eleven transmission lines. Maintenance and operation funds have been cut from $24,000,000 to $18,000,000.

From the appropriation for the American Falls Dam, Idaho, $833,000 to instal generating facilities at the dam has been eliminated. "The dam is standing, the water is impounded, and unless the generators are connected, the Idaho Power Company will be able to buy the falling water and sell power at a fat profit," says Senator Morse.

Four other transmission lines have been cut from the Bureau of Reclamation's budget. These are the Yellow Tail-Billings line and substation in Wyoming; the Flatiron-Valmont line in Colorado; the Sioux City, Iowa, to Omaha, Nebraska, line; and the Gavins Point, South Dakota, to Belden, Nebraska, line and substation. Many important civil projects by the Army Engineers have been drastically curtailed.

Another major give-away was started when the Department of the Interior signed twenty-year contracts with several private utilities permitting them to transmit power from Bonneville Dam. These new contracts replace earlier ones which insured that power companies should not overcharge and that the expanding needs of co-ops should be met.

Even worse was the department's decision to abandon its plans for a multipurpose dam at Hell's Canyon and to permit the Idaho Power Company to build three low-head dams on the Snake River. If the power company's plan is approved, the million-kilowatt potential of Hell's Canyon will be lost forever to the Northwest.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

First Big Deal

The Niagara Falls give-away is arranged for by the Capehart-Miller-Martin-Dondero bill, already passed by the House, which would allow the private power industry in New York State to build power facilities at Niagara Falls. This bill contains no provisions giving priority on low-cost power to public and co-op groups. It is awaiting Senate action.

Even that fortress of public power, the Tennessee Valley Administration, has been weakened. Though Eisenhower called it a "great experiment" in 1952, he has since referred to it as an example of "creeping socialism," and plans to provide it with a $30,000,000 steam generating plant near Memphis have been abandoned.

To make sure that its wishes would be carried out the Administration has forced the resignation of R. E. A. Administrator Claude R. Wickard, even though his term had two and half years to run, and of his deputy, William R. Wise.

Concomitantly with reduced appropriations for public power, the private utilities have increased their outlays for lobbying. Expenses reports filed with Congress show that for the first six months of 1953 the National Association of Electric Companies spent more money influencing legislation than any other group in the country.

Apparently the lobbying has paid off. Last month the Republican-controlled Federal Power Commission decided that private utility companies could retain

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all the benefits of the government's tax-subsidy program instead of passing them on to consumers in the form of lower rates. Bruce Catton, *The Nation's* Washington correspondent, forecast on last April 11 that the private power companies might reap a golden harvest from the tax-subsidy program, which was designed to encourage the building of new plants that might be needed in a national emergency. The F. P. C. decision may eventually yield the private utilities several billions of dollars at the expense of consumers and taxpayers. In Wisconsin alone, according to the Madison *Capital-Times,* it will mean an extra profit of $95,000,000 for five utility companies.

Offshore Oil: This give-away, probably the biggest of all, has also received the most publicity, in spite of the Democrats' failure to unite against it. Original estimates on the value of the submerged oil fields, mainly off Texas, Louisiana, Florida, and California, ranged from $60,000,000,000 to $300,000,000,000. The Holland bill, as finally passed, allowed only one-sixth of the area to pass out of the federal domain —that is, the underwater land out to the historic three-mile boundary. (Along the coast of Texas and Florida the states retained possession out to ten and a half miles.) If we take the most conservative estimate then, about $10,000,000,000 worth of property was transferred. With oil and gas royalties at 12½ per cent and sulphur royalties at 5 per cent, at least $1,000,000,000 in future federal funds has already been given away. This loss in revenue will eventually have to be made up by the taxpayer.

Grazing and Forest Lands: Nothing has yet been done to deprive the people of the United States of this resource, but there are two bills in Congress—the D'Ewart bill (H.R. 4023) and the Barrett-Butler bill (S. 1491). Both provide that holders of grazing permits on public lands shall be given permanent grazing allotments with the right to transfer them to their successors. In addition, they would require the government to pay permit holders for any losses resulting from government improvements on these grazing ranges. A minority of rich cattlemen would thus acquire practical title to the ranges and forests.

Figures supplied by the New Mexico Game Protective Association make this clear. Cattle and horses were grazed on federal lands by 1,785 permit holders in New Mexico last year. Of these, an élite group—189 permit holders—enjoyed 63.9 per cent of the total grazing privileges. The 1,384 owners of small permits, more than three-quarters of the whole number, enjoyed only 18.1 per cent of the grazing privileges. New Mexico alone contains 9,000,000 acres of federal Forest Service lands.

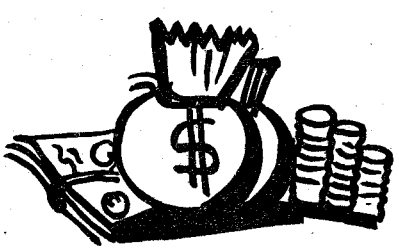
The grazing bills will affect directly a relatively small group. But the give-away program in its entirety touches the pocket-books of the great mass of Americans—farmers, consumers, house-owners, war veterans, small business men. The question is whether it will affect them enough by next November to influence the elections.

REPUBLICAN RECESSION

Will Congress Act? . . *by Fritz Sternberg*

IT CAN no longer be denied that the American economy is going through a retrograde phase. The December report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers observes that production figures for November, for the first time in 1953, were below the level of a year ago. The index drifted from 231 for October to 228 in November. Most marked was the decline in steel—from 95 per cent of capacity in October, to 90 per cent in November, to 85.8 per cent in mid-December, and to 66.6 per cent in the third week of December. The decline in automobile production is a familiar story.

In the wake of this production decline business has become very cautious about planning new investment in 1954. The McGraw-Hill survey of intentions to invest in plant and equipment indicates a decline of 8 per cent in manufacturing, no reduction in the utilities, and a drop of 5 per cent over-all. When production and investment decline, unemployment rises, even though but slowly. The New York *Times* reports: "The monthly 'economic indicators' compiled by the three-member advisory panel headed by Arthur F. Burns showed unemployment up by 266,000. This was the largest monthly rise of the year." Since overtime employment has dropped even more, there has been a small reduction in average weekly earnings—from $71.73 in October to $71.02 in November. Walter Reuther, president of the C. I. O., said at a union conference on unemployment that the labor force should have risen by about 700,000 last year because of population growth. Instead it declined about 300,000. Production too should have risen by about 3 or 4 per cent over the preceding year. The present decline, however modest, must be viewed in the perspective of the normal annual rise that failed to take place.



The economic decline in the United States is being watched with rapt attention throughout the world. The reasons for this interest are far from academic. The effects of a decline are likely to be

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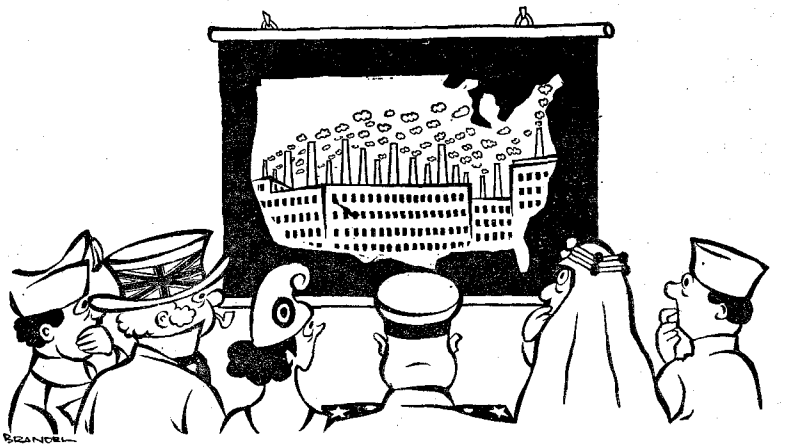
much more keenly felt in Europe and Asia than in the United States. The question asked on every side is: Will the present decline in American production lead to a depression similar to that of 1930, or is it no more than a passing disturbance, like the recession just before the outbreak of the Korean war, or does it signal economic reverses of an order somewhere between the great world-wide depression and the pre-Korean recession? The answers given cover a wide range. In New York a book by A. W. Zelomek has just been published with the significant title "No Major Depression in Our Lifetime." Mr. Zelomek argues that the internal structure of the American economy and of American society has changed so profoundly since 1929 that even without drastic government intervention no deep depression is to be expected. Colin Clark, the world-famous statistician, reaches the opposite conclusion in two articles published some weeks ago in the Manchester *Guardian* under the title Danger Signs of an American Slump.

COLIN CLARK proceeds on the assumption of a further decline in production during the first half of 1954:

> The lowest level of business activity during the last decade was in the latter part of 1949, when some people were scared that a really serious depression was just about to begin. The indications are that by the middle of 1954 unemployment and similar measures of business activity will again be at about this 1949 level. But on the previous occasion business began to pick up again, early in 1950, months before the Korean war was thought of. This time, unless they do something about it, it will plunge more deeply downward.

In this assumption Clark sees eye to eye with a number of American experts. A. W. Zelomek, for example, declares that unemployment may rise above its 1949 high and reach five million in 1954. But the agreement extends no farther. Colin Clark is convinced that unless decisive counter-measures are taken—taken in time, before the decline has reached the depth anticipated for mid-1954—further serious developments will occur. Should Congress wait until mid-1954, he says, it would have to cut taxes some twenty billion dollars, increasing purchasing power correspondingly, to avoid a grave depression. Action on a much smaller scale, he believes,



will suffice "if Congress takes it as soon as it meets in January instead of waiting until unemployment is mounting some six months later. It is very regrettable that business conditions, sales, and inventories should move so much faster than the slow process of changing public opinion; but it is undoubtedly the case."

These articles by Colin Clark have created a considerable stir in Europe and this country, not least because he specifies dates and views 1954 as the crucial year. Certain factors, moreover, are seen to be at work in the American economy which recall the period immediately preceding the 1929 crash. Then as now there was a crisis in agriculture before the whole economy was involved; then as now instalment buying had risen sharply in volume—the current increase is from $5,700,000,000 in 1945 to $28,000,000,000 in recent months. In three crucial respects, however, the situation is fundamentally different from that in 1929.

First, the American economy entered the world depression with a trade-union movement that embraced no more than two million-odd members, without an unemployment-insurance system, and without a farm policy that would have held agricultural income at a relatively stable level. It enters 1954 with more than sixteen million organized workers, with an unemployment-insurance system covering the majority of all workers, and with a farm policy that has increasingly stabilized agricultural income over the past twenty years. Generally speaking, these are the factors stressed by experts who regard a deep depression as unlikely.

But another important change has taken place. American production has doubled since 1929. Living standards have risen for all strata of the population and especially for persons in the middle income group. Correspondingly, expenditures for so-called durable consumer goods—automobiles, refrigerators, television sets, and so on—have increased substantially, running in recent years from $25,000,000,000 to $27,500,000,000 annually. From 1946 to 1952 they amounted to not less than 95 per cent of what the government spent on armaments. These expenditures, in contrast to those for food and rent, are extraordinarily elastic. In the event of a recession they are likely to be very considerably reduced, whether because people anticipate that prices will drop still farther or because they wish to save a greater proportion of their income against the danger of unemployment. Thus we have the paradoxical situation that it is precisely the unusually high living standard in the United States which increases the sensitivity of the American economy to depression.

A third difference between 1929 and now is the existence of machinery that enables the government to intervene in the economy. This machinery was created only under Roosevelt, in the course of the crisis, and largely by improvisation. In 1929 federal revenue ran to about $4,000,000,000. In 1953 it was $68,000,000,000, and federal, state, and local taxes accounted for more than 27 per cent of the national income. The largest single share of government expenditures, of course, goes for military and overseas purposes.

IT HAS BEEN rightly said that the important thing about a recession or depression is the kind of prosperity that preceded it. The world economic depres-

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sion of the thirties was preceded by a period of peace. The current recession has been preceded by a period that can be called neither war nor peace—it is perhaps best characterized as having had an "armistice" economy. It has been a time in which the government, by its military and foreign policies, exercised a crucial influence not only on the military sector but on the entire economy. This fact makes it impossible for pure economic analysis to determine future developments with any precision; in contrast to the situation in 1929 the coming economic difficulties are a *political* problem, since they affect not merely, or even primarily, the economy but the state itself.

If it were certain that the decline would remain relatively slight—say, 5 to 10 per cent of production—one might conceive that the curve would again rise without strong government intervention. But there is no such certainty—that is the point; nor is this merely the view of Colin Clark. It was emphasized in an article in the London *Economist* of November 28, 1952, significantly headed Recession, Small or Large? The time has gone by when the *Economist* believed—and tried to make the world believe—that John Maynard Keynes had discovered the causes of economic crisis and hence the way to overcome it. Now the *Economist* writes: "When a real recession does start in the United States, it may well move faster and go farther than most Americans are now supposing." The measures that Keynes once proposed have never all been applied in serious economic upheavals. As the *Economist* goes on to say, "the efficacy of these stabilizers has so far been tested only against very mild contracting forces." And the *Economist* reaches the melancholy conclusion: "If the decline may be 5 or 10 per cent, why not 15 or even 20 per cent?"

Despite Keynes, there is danger today of an economic crisis in America. Should it come, public works alone will not be sufficient, for they will be started too late to keep pace with the tempo of decline; not even the Point 4 program will be sufficient, for the present Administration has cut it back so severely that it cannot be suddenly increased by many billions of dollars.

A few weeks before Colin Clark's articles appeared, the National Planning Association published a booklet under the title "Can We Afford Additional Programs for National Security?" A theoretical study of the possible consequences of increasing annual defense expenditures by $10,000,000,000, $20,000,000,000, or $33,000,000,000, the booklet sought to prove that the American economy could with relative ease carry an increase in military spending of about $20,000,000,000. It may be taken for granted that the party now in power will not be able to stay in power unless it succeeds in mastering a recession swiftly enough to head off a depression. Perhaps an "additional program for national security" may yet appear the easiest way out.

CANADA'S CASE

A Test of Friendship . . . *by Mark Gayn*

Ottawa

SENATORS Jenner and McCarran came, saw, and, quite possibly, conquered. If Canada wished to avoid a new crop of "Gouzenko headlines," it was defeated by superior senatorial skill. From the moment they left Washington for Montreal, the two probers enjoyed a maximum of fanfare. Their trip was judiciously disclosed to the American press, klieg lights were set up at the Montreal station, and the backstairs game of hide-and-seek with reporters besieging the Windsor Hotel went on all day. Such dramatics have helped to destroy some of the legal solemnity with which the Canadians attended the confrontation of the Senators with the former Soviet cipher clerk. Even Ottawa's determination to keep the proceedings of this interview confidential was threatened almost at once by Jenner's demand that the information be made public. In fact, Jenner's statement was made just about the hour a leading Montreal editorial writer was expressing hope, "for the sake of good Canadian-American relations, that no information is given out either here or in the United States, for the interview has been a test of good faith."

Unfortunately, the Gouzenko incident became coupled in most minds with the two-day detention of two Canadian students by a Florida immigration inspector who "looked in his black book the size of the Toronto telephone book" and declared them undesirable under the McCarran Act. The press here, already angry, exploded with its biggest headlines, a dozen Toronto students began to picket the United States consulate with "McCarran, Go Home" placards, and the case promptly rocketed to the desks of External Affairs Secretary Lester Pearson and United States Attorney General Brownell. Perhaps the most charitable explanation was that the inspector confused the eminently respectable Young Progressive (Conservative) organization to which the two students belonged with the Labor-Progressive (Communist) Party. But there were less charitable ones. One conservative Toronto commentator even suggested there was a close resemblance between Soviet police methods and the Miami inspector's insistence that the two youths sign a statement they were not allowed to read. "Senator McCarran could not be reached at his hotel in Montreal," the commentator continued. "So it was impossible to ask him whether he thought the United States might be infected with any Russian

MARK GAYN is a well-known foreign correspondent who has been spending some months in Canada.

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diseases even more dangerous to its Constitution than spy rings."

The Gouzenko episode, the Miami incident, the widely held suspicion that Jenner is really gunning for Pearson, regarded here as one of the very few first-rate statesmen left on this continent —all these have prospered in a soil already fertilized by McCarthyism. To most political and intellectual leaders here McCarthyism is a loathsome evil which they fear is now seeping northward across the Forty-ninth Parallel. The Montreal *Star* reflected this feeling when it said recently, "The area of irresponsibility is widening in the United States, and each new criticism, each new attack, each new smear is rousing a usually self-controlled public opinion in Canada to higher and higher temperatures. . . . We find it shocking that McCarthyism, with the hysteria that marks it, should have now made Canada one of its minor targets."

Thoughtful Canadians know this country cannot escape the impact of politics south of the border. Yet there is a determination to resist with all vigor the "export of McCarthyism" to Canada. This will is buttressed by the feeling that Canada today is the last bastion of the Anglo-Saxon liberal tradition in North America. Perhaps no better evidence of this belief could be provided than the near-unanimity with which the opposition has backed the government in the "Gouzenko Affair." When a lone admirer of McCarthy rose in the House to hail the Senator as a "gentlemanly, patient, patriotic young fellow," the guffaws from the opposition benches matched those from the government side.

DEEP AS THE Canadian anxieties may be about McCarthyism, they are more acute in the area of economics. For though Ottawa does not like to advertise friction, it is no longer a secret that economic relations with the United States are steadily deteriorating and that a tariff guerrilla war is in progress.

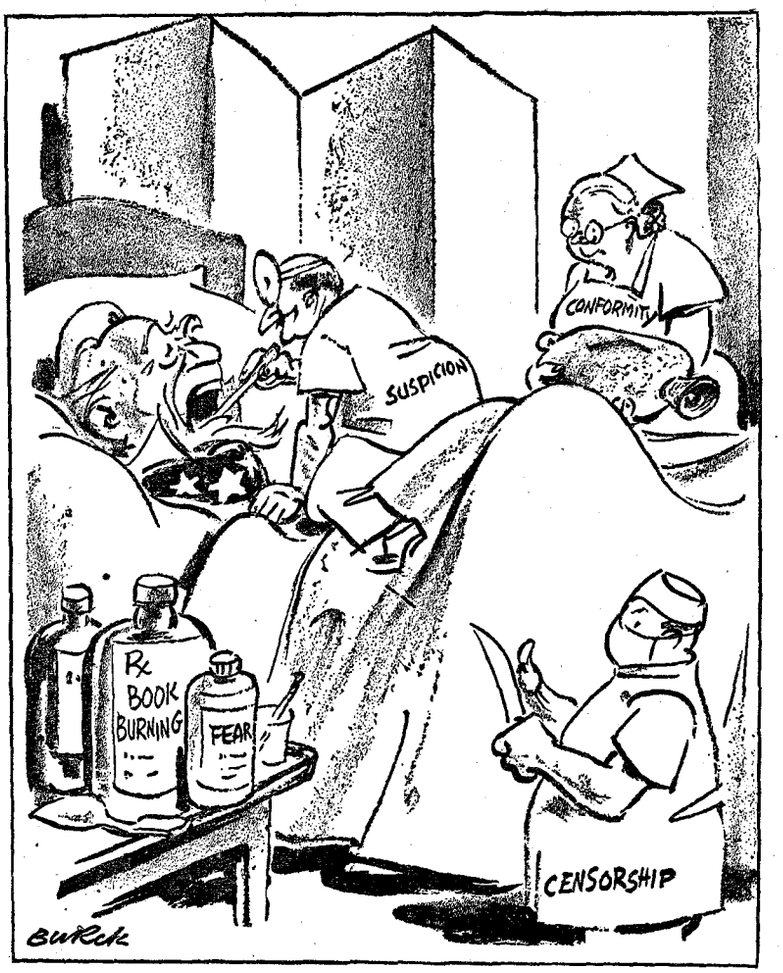
No other two countries in the world have economic bonds so close as those that link Canada and the United States. The American investment here, estimated at $5,000,000,000 at the end of World War II, today exceeds $8,000,000,000, or more than four times the British investment. The fabulous deposits of iron ore, uranium, and oil are as often as not exploited jointly with American capital. For some of the great United States concerns, the Canadian operation has become almost as important as the business at home.

Commerce has similarly increased. The total trade between the two nations in 1953 reached $5,700,000,000, representing a gain of around half a billion dollars in a single year. Unfortunately, however, the statistics have been showing a mounting Canadian deficit—$600,000,000 in 1952 and some $700,000,000 last year. To meet this dollar deficit Canada must export to the United States. Yet like the European nations, it now finds itself butting its head against the stone wall of American tariffs. On President Eisenhower's somewhat less than triumphal visit here in November, the cheers which greeted his criticism of tariff walls gave place to a frigid silence when he told the House that haste had to be made slowly in this field.

As it is, the list of Canadian industries hurt or awaiting injury is expanding rapidly. Rigid import quotas—introduced by the Democrats—forced Canada long ago to cut sharply the export of dairy products to the United States. Steep tariff boosts, engineered by the mining lobby in Washington, are in prospect for the Canadian producers of zinc and lead. Curbs are in store for the herring industry of the Maritime Provinces, which has thrived on sales to New England. A month ago Ottawa agreed, "as the lesser of evils," to accept Washington's demand to reduce Canadian exports of oats to the United States to 23,000,000 bushels in ten months ending next October. In the corresponding period of 1952-53 exports of oats totaled 50,000,000 bushels.

Canadian producers of barley, and possibly rye, have been warned to expect the worst. The southward flow of Canadian natural gas has been put in jeopardy. Direct flights from Montreal to Mexico City via Tampa, Florida, were blocked by the United States Civil

AS CANADA SEES US



Courtesy Toronto *Daily Star*

In the Witch-Hunters' Hospital

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Aeronautics Board, on a technicality, until Ottawa threatened to take similar action against two American air lines.

Overshadowing all this is rural Canada's dread of a cutthroat price war in the world markets. The United States Commodity Credit Corporation recently sold Britain a huge quantity of linseed oil at a price just above half the original cost. And now there is the threat of American dumping of wheat in markets at present buying Canadian grain. With the great Canadian prairie provinces already feeling the pinch of reduced farm incomes, the prospect of a hundred million bushels of American wheat tossed into world markets at cut-rate prices is terrifying.

AS FOR the industrial heart of Canada —the provinces of Ontario and Quebec —vast irritation is felt there with the delays in the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway. To Canadians this immense project is a happy blend of Panama Canal, Tennessee Valley Authority, and a stream of silver dollars pouring out of the horn of plenty. They feel Canada has been victimized by selfish American coal, power, and railroad lobbies, and the press here has done much with the quoted boast of an American coal-mine owner that "every day we can delay them is worth $10,000 to us."

There was satisfaction here last November when President Eisenhower signed an executive order authorizing New York State to join Canada in constructing a $600,000,000 St. Lawrence River power plant. If the United States Court of Appeals dismisses petitions from coal and power interests, the construction may begin next spring. But though the power project is a preliminary to the seaway, it is not directly connected with it. Several months ago, therefore, Ottawa served notice on Washington that if Congress fails to act on the seaway project early this year, Canada will go ahead on its own. If this comes to pass, it will do little to enhance Canada's affection for its neighbor.

Ottawa, of course, is not unaware of the woes that beset the Republican Administration in Washington. There is a readiness to credit President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles with good intentions and with a genuine desire to sponsor normal, unhindered world trade. "It's not Ike," says an Ottawa official; "it's those high-tariff lobbyists and their friends in Congress." All the same, there is a feeling that the President is giving up too much ground too easily, and that Washington's legitimate desire to protect American producers does not in any way justify the American tariff excesses. One example now being cited in this country —it was originally published in *Barron's* in New York—is the United States duty on Canadian ping-pong balls, which was recently boosted ninefold by classifying them as ammunition. The explanation: the balls can be substituted for cork in pop-guns.

In the face of such tactics Ottawa has shown remarkable restraint. Some of this restraint, however, is being chipped off by American trouble-makers. Moreover, the pressure on Ottawa by the injured Canadian interests is becoming formidable. It was thus that Ottawa used the threat of retaliation a few weeks ago to win the right of direct flights to Mexico by the Trans-Canada Air Lines.

Last month Ottawa also put into force a tariff measure designed to protect the Canadian textile industry from the effects of American dumping. American exports of cut-rate drygoods to Canada have reached enormous totals in recent months, through the use of legal trickery to circumvent the G. A. T. T. agreement. The effects on the Canadian industry have been cruel. Some 10,000 workers, roughly 10 per cent of the entire textile labor force, were laid off in the last eight months of 1953, and the Canadian industry's share of its own market has dropped from 68 per cent in 1950 to less than 50 per cent today.

Such retaliatory measures have not been taken easily. The government deplores what has been described in Parliament as "the customs shooting war across the boundary," but it hopes for sanity in Washington. The Conservative opposition, however, has long been expressing concern at the growing Canadian dependence on the American market and has attacked the government's policy of " putting all the eggs in one American basket." The answer, of course, is that one sells where one can, and Canada's post-war boom has rested in part on the heavy exports to the United States. It is only since the advent of the Republicans to Washington that "the longest undefended border in the world" has also become a sturdy and rising tariff wall.

This long border is one of the dominant factors in Canadian life. Canada's trade and growth, its culture and defense, its pleasures, its fashions in clothes and reading—all are affected by America's nearness. "Li'l Abner" of the comics and Cyrus Eaton, the Cleveland industrialist, are as much a part of life here as they are south of the Forty-ninth Parallel. So are the *Reader's Digest,* Kellogg's corn flakes, Dorothy Lamour, Florida frozen orange juice, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Mickey Spillane.

THOUGH THEY accept its inevitability, Canada's leaders are unhappy over this total Americanization of Canadian life. They believe that while Canada should assimilate what is best south of the border, it must also develop an indigenous culture and political tradition. This, in fact, is the theme of the famous Massey Report, which has become a milestone in Canada's development. And if there has been one single outside factor that has strengthened this conviction it has been McCarthyism.

Canada regards friction with the United States as stupid and suicidal. It sees the United States as its best and irreplaceable ally, and—as Mr. Pearson has stressed repeatedly—it recognizes United States leadership in the family of free, independent, and democratic nations. As it has shown even in the deplorable "Gouzenko Affair," it will make every conceivable concession to the United States save those which involve its dignity as a free nation. Yet, as the Canadians look southward, many begin to feel that this country must be ready to insulate itself against some of the more alarming American phenomena, from bloodthirsty comics to McCarthyism to expressions of bull-headed nationalism.

Both President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, it is known, are aware of the feelings and resentments here. But if the basis of the Great Alliance is to survive, this awareness must filter down —to Congress, to the regional interests in the United States, and to the press. If it does not, the political extremists and the high-tariff boys can well make the Forty-ninth Parallel a line of tragic stress and dissension.

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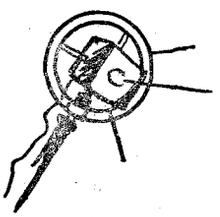

Freedom of Thought in American Life

By Richard Barnes Kennan

[*This is* The Nation's *own "Voice of America," an occasional feature bringing to our readers important speeches or public communications which have been largely ignored by the press. The following article is condensed from a speech delivered before the National Council for Social Studies by Richard Barnes Kennan, executive secretary of the National Education Association's Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education.*]

TO THE average person the concept that thought can be anything but free is probably startling at the very least. It calls to mind the prisoner undergoing torture who said, "You may cut out my tongue so I cannot speak. You may cut off my hands so I cannot write. But you cannot stop me thinking my own thoughts unless you destroy me utterly." Probably thought cannot be completely controlled even in the subconscious stage. On the other hand, there are certainly numerous devices and practices, natural and developed by human initiative, that limit real freedom of thought.

The emotional climate of large segments of our population is such that the possible existence of a spy system is a very strong deterrent of thought and expression in literally hundreds of classrooms. Last fall I received a long report from a Southwestern city about a radio commentator who was on the air on a local station for two hours every night. One of his principal projects was the development of a spy system in the local schools. He urged the formation of a new organization of parents and citizens, acting anonymously and "under cover," which would instal secret agents in every classroom to listen to everything the teacher said and review all written material in an effort to find something disloyal. Can you imagine what it would be like to teach in a large community knowing that there was a secret organization not at all interested in the constructive things you were trying to achieve or in the help you were trying to give your pupils, but only in pouncing on some inadvertent word, phrase, or sentence that it could use to your discomfiture or serious damage? It was even said that this commentator had the support of one or more self-proclaimed patriotic organizations. I am happy to report that he no longer is on the air, and I hope no other station will stoop to giving him an opportunity to advance his program for stultifying freedom in the schools.

THE CONTROL OF THOUGHT by arousing fear and suspicion has spread like a miasma, hardly noticeable at first, but increasing in noxiousness until we suddenly realize that we are being choked by it. Much of it could be cleared away overnight if people in high as well as low office in this country showed real leadership, courage, and statesmanship. Thought control received its greatest encouragement when persons of influence said they didn't like the methods employed to discover subversion but approved of the objectives. A nation that accepts the dictum that the end justifies the means is moving away from freedom and fair play.

I am far from condemning a healthy interest on the part of parents and the public in the work of the schools or any other public-service agency; nor do I wish to criticize those who are justly concerned over the overt disloyal actions of their colleagues or neighbors. If the public is to support the schools, it has a right to be assured of the integrity and loyalty of teachers. Every American community should be alert to totalitarian threats from any direction. I am decrying here only those individuals and groups who for personal or political purposes have foisted upon us, in the name of anti-communism, the very procedures that we despise in the dictator powers.

One of the most diabolically clever ways of controlling thought is through changing the meanings of words. An example of this occurred recently in an elementary school in Texas. According to the newspaper reports the parents of children in that school are protesting because the principal has been teaching her pupils a new version of the "American Creed" from which the word "democracy" has been eliminated. She is said to have told a parent that she changed it "because Russia has made a 'dirty word' of democracy."

I HAVE ALSO BEEN deeply disturbed by what appears to be an effort to control the thinking and actions of our people by disparaging and ridiculing the intellect of the common man. Our nation was established and preserved by common men—farmers, tradesmen, laborers, professional people. We have renewed our courage and gained in stature through our adherence to the principle that ours is a "government of the people, by the people, for the people." The American citizen's pride and self-confidence are based on the belief that "all men are created equal." The public schools and even the universities of this country were established by common men who believed in the value of education for all citizens if our republic was to survive and prosper. Yet there are voices that directly or indirectly disparage and dishearten the ordinary citizen today. They would have him believe that he is not so clever as men with other ideologies and will be their dupe unless he stops thinking for himself and accepts the directives of those within our boundaries who are seeking to control us.

I believe that there is already stirring in the "grass roots," and even in high places in this country, a revolt against those who, in the name of anti-communism, have led us down anti-American byways. I have been heartened by the stirring words of the Conants, the Oxnams, the Cousinses, the Reuthers, and many other leaders who have courageously spoken out for freedom. I know I am repeating words that men have said many times when I say that our generation is being tested in a crucible of fire. My religious faith gives me confidence that we shall emerge from the turmoil and the torture of our day and eventually see the dross thrown off from the molten ore and a purer, stronger metal emerge.

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BOOKS

Psychology and Religion

PSYCHOLOGY AND ALCHEMY. Volume XII of Collected Works of C. G. Jung. Bollingen Series. Pantheon. $5.

TWO ESSAYS ON ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY. Volume VII of Collected Works of C. G. Jung. Bollingen Series. Pantheon. $3.75.

PSYCHOLOGICAL REFLEXIONS. By C. G. Jung. Bollingen Series. Pantheon. $4.50.

A HISTORY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS IN AMERICA. By Clarence P. Oberndorf. Grune and Stratton. $5.

THE TRANSCENDENT UNITY OF RELIGIONS. By Frithjof Schuon. Pantheon. $3.50.

By Waldo Frank

WHEN Freud began his great work, positivism was the dogma of science, and he accepted it as the implicit frame of his discoveries. An age less confident that the empirical facts answer all men's questions about life's meanings could hardly have produced Freud's revolutionary premise that the biological instincts play the same role in every human phase from neurosis to culture as mass, force, gravity, and so on in mechanics. Through Freud's formative years science was far too sure of itself to attack religious revelation directly; it bypassed the churches with the serene assumption that *its* laws were revelation. Freud, the neurologist, hunted facts for ponderable causes like an engineer; his pattern, conscious or not, was Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. But because of his faith in the ultimate nature of his facts, it was neither accident nor incident that he fought for them first with a saint's, soon with a high priest's fervor. Almost at once some of his ablest disciples split off from his specific "laws." But it is safe to say that Freud's view of the unconscious biology of the psyche has so tinctured modern thought that psychology, medicine, sociology, anthropology, and aesthetics are unthinkable without him.

While the true and the heretic churches were being organized—Dr. Oberndorf tells the exciting story of the orthodox in the United States—Freud himself, year after year, was digging deeper into the jungle of the unconscious. And there he discovered data disturbing to his own positivist-empiricist framework—data progressively more resistent to being placed within it! He found, for instance, that this unconscious realm which he called *Id*—to differentiate it from the conscious ego—seemed to function outside the categories of time and space which his philosophy took for granted; that the unconscious of one individual and the unconscious of another seemed to communicate without benefit of the physical nexus which Freud assumed—indeed, through a kind of telepathy or empathy which Freud admitted to be suggestive of the unity of the mystics; and that parallel with the biological life-force he called libido, which functioned through the pleasure-principle or its socially induced correlate, the reality-principle, there appeared to be in man a "death-wish," an instinct for self-annihilation, that played havoc with Freud's positivist logic. Freud, whose integrity ennobled everything he said, however one might disagree, struggled to fit his discoveries into the frame he could not challenge. But before he died he had become confusedly aware that his strict biologic method was skirting the kind of metaphysical matter which his conscious mind rejected.

Freud's followers, the orthodox and the heretic, have for the most part adhered to the master's empiricist frame, either by "psychoanalyzing away" metaphysics and religion or by finding all the answers to anxiety in the field of social relations. To the schools of Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, the American H. S. Sullivan, Freud's view of social adjustment as a war between beastly instincts and a society that demands their suppression, is too simple. The instincts themselves, they say, are social; creative values are instinctual. These might be called the "ethical culture" schools of psychiatry. Although they have broadened Freud they have also diluted him, losing thereby some of the contradictions revealed by Freud's ruthlessly honest research. Whatever their therapeutic value in individual cases, they are essentially commentators, critics. And they would all agree with Freud that Pascal's or Kierkegaard's diagnosis of anxiety as due to man's imperfect connection with God and Cosmos was neurotic nonsense.

Only Jung, who parted from Freud forty years ago, has extended psychoanalytic methods in the dimension of depth. Where Freud found *Id,* the jungle of infantile desires thrust down from consciousness by Ego or Super-ego, Jung discerns the Collective Unconscious. Freud's definition confronted him with mysterious inexplicables which Jung's hypothesis takes in its stride, since his collective unconscious, in the form of archetypes revealed by dream, contains all the mythic and cosmic intuitions which have produced the arts and the religions. According to Jung, this vast realm is not repressed, was never conscious in the mind of modern man, but may be lifted into the realm of the conscious, thereby reintegrating man with wholeness.

THE BOLLINGEN FOUNDATION, through Pantheon, whose products are always models of dignified and beautiful book-making, has begun publication of the collected works of Jung (in eighteen volumes) with "Two Essays on Analytical Psychology" and "Psychology and Alchemy"—works that amply reveal his methods of research and the theories he draws from his facts. Like Freud, Jung looks only for *psychological* facts; unlike Freud, he finds among them, primarily, the metaphysical and religious impulses which make man the metaphysical animal and differentiate him from the other less dangerous fauna. For example, to Freud the idea of God is a derivative—perhaps from the feelings for the father; to Jung it is a primordial psychological datum about which he declines to theorize as to whether God "actually exists," but which also he cannot identify with a biological instinct "gone wrong," since it pervades the human mind, present and

WALDO FRANK is the author of "Not Heaven," "The Bridegroom Cometh," "Summer Never Ends," and many other books.

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past, individual and collective. Jung is also a therapist; therefore he insists that it is not enough to recognize the archetype in the unconscious and to leave it there, labeled "psychological fact." For this means a split between the individual and the collective psyche. "On the one hand we should have the differentiated modern ego, and on the other a sort of negroid culture, a very primitive state of affairs. We should have, in fact, what actually exists—namely, a veneer of civilization over a dark-skinned brute. . . ." This brief sample must serve to reveal Jung's method—and as well a certain bias, frequently revealed, which instinctively suggests to him metaphors of white and dark, esoteric and democratic, when he wishes to distinguish good from evil.

In "Psychology and Alchemy," Jung juxtaposes a single patient's fantasies and dreams—recorded by an assistant, not by Jung, lest he unconsciously select and distort—with the symbols of medieval alchemy and of the classical religions. Incidentally, Jung brings out the superficiality and falsity of the modern rationalist attitude toward alchemy, which was less an effort to turn lead into gold than a form of man's need to transpose himself from brute to person. Alchemy was a harbinger in Christian Europe of the power-motive which produced science and the machine. Its symbols, Jung reveals, are related to those of the Transubstantiation of the Eucharist, and to the methods of Kabala and Torah.

THE VALIDITY of all Jung's analogies may be questioned; this is certainly not the place to discuss them. What cannot be disputed is the fact of a convergence of the psychological processes of modern man with the essential revelations of the mystics of both the West and the East. Thus, we find a cycle tentatively closed. The old forms of revelation—alchemical, theological, magical, animistic—are ground to dust by natural science. Psychology, the latest science, develops a technique for exploring the content of men's minds. And within a few decades practice of the technique rediscovers a still valid essence within the old rejected forms of knowledge.

It is to be noted that the originator of the technique employed it in aggressive support of an anti-metaphysical philosophy. It is also to be observed that our best clinical psychologists—leaders such as H. A. Murray, G. W. Allport, Gardner Murphy, J. B. Rhine, and such creative younger men as George S. Klein—while they are beginning to admit that the facts of personality and perception require an ontological principle beyond their empirical definitions, continue to stick to the old framework. They stand at the door which leads into the open, and they dare not touch it. Even Jung has done little beyond dredging for his archetypes of truth in the collective unconscious. Consider his definition

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of value as "a possibility for a display of energy"—a confession of disregard for the social reality of man which might validate the work of Hitler or of any madman. Although he writes, "It is not possible to derive any philosophical system from the elementary thoughts of primitive man," one doubts that the scientist who can also say "the masses are blind brutes, as we know to our cost" is in the properly creative mood to integrate his wisdom for a new social-personal order. Freud might be called the first great anatomist of the human psyche, Jung its first great paleontologist. The creative synthesis is still beyond them—and beyond us.

TOWARD IT, a very little way, moves Frithjof Schuon in "The Transcendent Unity of Religions." His book is not, as the title might suggest, another syncretistic vulgarization preaching that "all religions are one." Schuon's thesis is that the great religions, since they are exoteric, partake of the cultural substance of specific peoples and therefore differ, as do the peoples, in time, place, ethos. Religions, in a word, are *particulars,* and always must be. What unites them is a transcendent psychological knowledge, esoteric yet universal, which is the source and point of each individual departure. Schuon discovers this basic psychology in the Beatitudes of Jesus, the Hesychast method of the Orthodox church, the Sufis of Islam, the Yogas (varying with different interpretations of reality) of Vedanta, Tantra, and Buddhists. According to Schuon, our modern scientific culture has invalidated the exoteric forms of religion, not touching the esoteric source.

By his definition he is correct: science, which has nothing to say about first or final causes, must be irrelevant to metaphysics although—as we have seen—it can lead man up to it. Schuon, without benefit of science, seems to prefer to lead man back. He does not conceal his bias: "It could also be said that the decadence of the East is based on 'inertia,' while that of the West is based on 'error.' In the eyes of the East when faithful to its own spirit, the progress of Western man will never be anything but the vicious circle which *vainly* seeks to eliminate *inevitable* miseries at the cost of the only thing which gives any meaning to life." The italics are mine. They point to Schuon's inability to jump out of *past* exoteric forms, whose defeatism in dealing with these "miseries"—famine, disease, want, and war—came direct from the social and technical impotence of pre-scientific cultures. Schuon is aware of the psychological source of religion, of the suffusion of this unitary knowledge in differing forms throughout life's exoteric texture, and, at least theoretically, of the presence of this knowledge in the West as well as in the East. But he fails to see that his division of esoteric and exoteric, although valid for the past, is itself a trait of past pre-scientific ages in which truth, like food, could be the possession only of castes and special classes. This does not mean that everyone will become capable of psychological truth—or of producing a great work of art. It does mean that the relative and uneven abilities of men to achieve a conscious, positive relation with the Cosmos, without which relation anxiety and its diseases are permanent, will no longer depend on the kind of theological or esoteric "knowledge" which, in the past, man's immature mastery of his world has demanded. The form of the truth tomorrow will not be esoteric but in a new sense of both words at once personal and social.

New Books in Brief

Land Policies in Review

FARM POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES 1790-1950. By Murray R. Benedict. Twentieth Century Fund. $5.

With agricultural issues very much to the front these days, it is helpful to have this simply written study at hand. It begins with the formulation of land policies in the colonial period and offers a fairly comprehensive treatment of their development. The various chapters are devoted to problems of tariff, money, monopoly, resources, prices, legislation, and farm organization and politics. The author's historical approach does not permit any full discussion of such fundamental questions as what kind of agriculture does the nation want and what are the possible alternatives, but presumably some of these will be explored in a companion study to be published next year. Seeing our farm programs in this perspective enables us to understand the patchwork agricultural structure we now have and reminds us of the need for pursuing long-range policies rather than the year-to-year makeshifts arrived at under narrow farm-bloc pressures.

Impostor or Bastard?

THE ARTIFICAL BASTARD. A Biography of Richard Savage. By Clarence Tracy. Harvard. $4.50.

As a *cause célèbre* the case of Richard Savage has everything—a wronged but erring wife, a missing son, a dubious claimant, with noble names and great wealth involved at every turn. Even so it would probably be half forgotten by now if Samuel Johnson had not written a life of its hero equally remarkable for the brilliance of its portraiture and for its cavalier handling of the evidence on which Savage based his claim to be the illegitimate son of Lord Rivers by the wife of Lord Macclesfield. On the whole, contemporaries tended to accept the claim, largely because they liked a romantic story and found Savage an intriguing ne'er-do-well with a genius for sponging. On the whole, modern scholars have tended to regard him as an impostor. Professor Tracy retells the story, reexamines the evidence such as it is, and in what is probably the best account of the affair ever written leans over backward to conclude that Savage's claim might just possibly have been true. Unless a firm conviction that the world owes one a living is proof of blue blood, this reader still believes that "just possibly might" is the most that can be said. Without making any concessions to the taste for fictionalizing Professor Tracy has written a very readable account.

If the South Had Won

BRING THE JUBILEE. By Ward Moore. Farrar, Straus and Young. $2; Ballantine edition, 35 cents.

Ward Moore, who denies the validity of the term science fiction, has written a novel of improbabilia in which the Civil War was won by the South. The action is mostly in New York and Pennsylvania and the time from 1938 to the present. The North is impoverished by the war debts, there is practically no

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industry, and a large portion of the population sells itself into indentured service.

We see this world through the eyes of Hodge Backmaker, a bookseller and printer's handyman in New York who joins a cooperative research community in Pennsylvania. There he becomes a historian specializing in the War of Southern Independence—as it is known in this world of "if." Inevitably, he becomes interested in something which has occupied many of the historians of our own world. On the battlefield at Gettysburg there is a small hill called Little Round Top. The Confederate army made the tactical error of not occupying this hill, and most historians agree that this cost them the war. In Mr. Moore's novel they did occupy it. Another research project at the cooperative community is a time-travel machine. When it is perfected, Hodge Backmaker goes back to 1863 to check on Little Round Top. What happens there must remain the author's secret until you read the novel, but the results were cataclysmic.

Protestant Self-Purge

APOSTLES OF DISCORD. By Ralph Lord Roy. Beacon Press. $3.75.

Published by the Beacon Press with its long tradition of Unitarian liberalism, written by Ralph Roy, "an ordained Methodist minister" of Vermont, carrying on its jacket the blessing of Bishop Oxnam and Reinhold Niebuhr, "Apostles of Discord" is designed to win a favorable reception from perturbed and confused church members.

The title strikes the note which is echoed in the subtitle—"Protestant Fringe Groups Promoting Hate and Disruption"—suggesting that the sole purpose of the book is the good of the church and that its method is wholly "objective." But the reader soon detects a partisanship of design which creates a bias more effective than errors of fact. Obvious racists such as Gerald L. K. Smith and Gerald Winrod appear side by side with Jerome Davis and the "saintly" Dryden Phelps. This is a new form of "guilt by association" in which not the victim but the author does the associating. The book will be used chiefly, one regrets, to look up the red ratings of friends about to be dropped and enemies about to be smitten.

The churches and the universities have been invited to purge themselves—self-censorship, as Carey McWilliams has pointed out, avoids the charge of dictatorship—in the interest of political conformity. It looks better to have this happen inside the institutions themselves than through the intervention of the state. "Apostles of Discord" is an effective step in this direction.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

THERE is an element of topicality and even of propaganda in almost all our current stage successes. "The Prescott Proposals" by Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse (Broadhurst Theater), for instance, is about the U. N. and international relations: what it means to suggest is that we must not despair of achieving peace, for even the Soviet Russians are human.

But there is so much fear of propaganda among us—while at the same time we remain too moral, idealistic, and practical a people to forgo it altogether—that the propaganda in our plays remains cautious, watered down, and oblique and serves only as a condiment of entertainment rather than as a substance.

Hence it would be simple-minded to speak of "The Prescott Proposals" in terms of social values. Its liberalism provides a slight breeze, but its basic atmosphere is that of a well-mannered melodrama for middle-aged middle-class ladies. It is neatly carpentered, handsomely mounted, well cast—Ben Astar as the Soviet delegate is particularly good—and it brings us Katharine Cornell, as the delegate from the United States, in her perhaps most "realistic" role.

Miss Cornell is not a realistic actress. Hers is a kind of fictional-romantic stage personality, often arresting and glamorous, with a late-nineteenth-century American nostalgia for figures of the theater and novel of an even earlier epoch. On stage she seems always to be visiting the twentieth century from another realm and another era on a two-hour passport—with only a vague relationship to such humdrum objects as telephones, typewriters, taxis. For this reason her performance in "The Prescott Proposals" is a welcome change—surprisingly and agreeably rooted as it is in the commonplace.

Though the "propaganda" is less obvious in Edward Chodorov's "Oh Men! Oh, Women!" (Henry Miller's Theater) we cannot fail to recognize the play's topicality: it deals with psychoanalysis. It is suitably modest on the subject, but it is clearly liberal in its attitude toward a matter about which on the stage and in certain social circles it is usually considered smart to be slightly contemptuous. Its main assets are that it is steadily funny without being gross, and that it is excellently played by Franchot Tone, Larry Blyden, Henry Sharp, Anne Jackson, Gig Young, and the others—all of whom are vivid, ingratiatingly deft, and comically real. Franchot Tone, whose role—that of the earnest, intelligent,

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and bewildered doctor—is the least grateful of all, is an actor who should be kept in the theater to play the more ambitious parts for which his ample and subtle gifts endow him.

There is nothing propagandistic or topical in Jane Bowles's "In the Summer House" (Playhouse), which is not the only reason I prefer it to most of the plays I have seen this season. Its author has an original writing talent and a not at all stock sensibility. It may even be deemed a paradox that I like the earlier or wackier part of the play better than the last part, in which the characters are resolved with the aid of a little off-the-cuff psychoanalysis.

The better part of the play—in which an eccentrically proper and severely determined mother berates her perpetually retreating daughter—is written with a kind of airy freedom, humor, and, from the standpoint of conventional stagecraft, unrelatedness; is in fact truthful, sharp, and wittily poignant. Miss Bowles does not trouble to explain why her characters are so fey; those of us who live by labels are tempted to call either the characters or the author wilfully perverse or neurotic. But if we listen to them without preconceptions, we understand them very well. Only at the end, when we are favored with an explanation—the mother has a father fixation and has destroyed the daughter's will by reenacting the father's role, thus giving the daughter a mother fixation—do we feel let down, both because the explanation explains nothing and because it is less amusing, moving, and perceptive than what we have seen.

Our contemporary theater is half dead with "reasons." "Tea and Sympathy" is clear; "Hamlet" is not. The aimless dialogue, the sadly abstract atmosphere of the first part of "In the Summer House," is lovely, colorful, and strangely evocative: it spins a melody of the trivial and "pointless" which emanates from the semi-consciousness of rather ordinary folk with a primitive directness that is essentially poetic. But where the poetic in the theater is not sustained by rational crutches, we tend to feel lost and when lost to become irritable.

"In the Summer House" is a kind of wryly comic lyric poem in a minor key. Its music is that of people isolated in a social world which exists statistically—as a department store exists—but not spiritually in a truly human context. Such people become weird—both sad and funny—and their number far exceeds the few queer creatures Mrs. Bowles presents; or, to put it bluntly, aren't we all?

The play is well produced. The director, José Quintero, has the knack of creating a sort of azure ineffability of mood. Oliver Smith's settings have quality, though I believe they might have been given a little more "surprise," made a little more oddly gay. Judith Anderson, who frequently tends toward too rhetorical a theatricality, has injected into her performance traits of humor and down-to-earth simplicity which are virtually new to her style. Only at the end does she err in the direction of the nobly tragic, a vein foreign to the script—just as the writing itself, I repeat, is at this point tritely psychological.

The most interesting performance of the production is that of Mildred Dunnock as the forever unloved woman whose pathos is mixed with an exhilarating dash of rough comedy. Her drunk scene, in itself an excellent piece of writing, in which the somewhat mad lady she plays drives a "normal" and average waitress—hilariously done by Jean Stapleton—crazy, is one of the best bits of the season.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

ONE of the events of the year is RCA Victor's release on LP of the performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 that Schnabel recorded in England after the war, with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Dobrowen. It gives us one of the outstanding examples of the wonderfully clarified playing Schnabel did at that time—an example too of the strength in quiet, in the playing of Beethoven's concertos, that Schnabel alone seems to have had the secret of, as against the violence with which Serkin wows the public. The dubbing from 78 is good, except for an inexplicable discontinuity in the sustained fourth note of the piano's entrance at the beginning of the development in the first movement.

From Epic we get the best performance of Chopin's Piano Concerto No. 1 I have heard on LP—the best by virtue of Uninsky's graceful but unaffected playing on a European piano whose tone is better suited to this music than that of the American Steinway. Van Otterloo provides an excellently paced and shaped performance of the orchestral part (uncut) with the Hague Philharmonic that is reproduced with too heavy bass, stridency of violins, poor balance of orchestra and piano (the piano's exquisite obbligato figuration at the end of the slow movement is obscured by the orchestra), a drop in volume in the recapitulation of the first movement, a hash of distortion near the end of the movement. But these faults are outweighed by the excellence of Uninsky's playing.

Epic also gives us the best performance of Schumann's Piano Concerto after Lipatti's. Clara Haskil isn't the pianist and musician Lipatti was, but her sensitive, unaffected playing is very satisfying; and the performance has the advantage of being free of the high-frequency hash that afflicts the third movement on the Lipatti record. Not that it is without faults: the poor woodwinds of the Hague Philharmonic conducted by van Otterloo; the too heavy bass of the reproduced sound. On the reverse side, where it should not be, is Liszt's Piano Concerto No. 1.

A Columbia LP (ML-4782) offers dubbings of several recordings (1943 to 1949) by the oboist Leon Goossens. The works are a concerto fashioned by Arthur Benjamin out of some lovely pieces by Cimarosa; a quite lovely Concerto in C minor by Marcello; the fine Handel Concerto Grosso Op. 3 No. 10 (the one played by Tabuteau on the Philadelphia Orchestra record "First Chair"); Tovey's arrangement for oboe d'amore of Bach's Clavier Concerto in A, with a moderately engaging first movement; and Whittaker's arrangement of an impressive instrumental movement from Bach's Easter Oratorio. Goossens's playing with the Liverpool Philharmonic under Sargent and Cameron and the Philharmonia under Susskind is very fine; the dubbed sound comes with varying amounts of 78 rpm surface noise.

A Suite from Berlioz's "The Trojans at Carthage"—offering the individual, impressive, and beautiful overture, ballet music, and Trojan March in addition to the best-known and marvelously beautiful Royal Hunt and Storm—is played well by the Lamoureux Orchestra under Martinon (MGM; with uninteresting excerpts from Glinka's "Russlan and Ludmilla").

Better tempos, stronger rhythm, greater energy, and more sharply distinct recorded sound—e.g. of wonderful NBC Symphony brass chords in the March—make Toscanini's performance of Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite (Victor) more exciting than Ormandy's with the Philadelphia (Columbia). However, the solo flute and clarinet lag behind the NBC Symphony to a degree I would expect Toscanini not to tolerate, whereas they gear with the Philadelphia with precision and ease; and the mellower-sounding Philadelphia performance is very lovely. The Toscanini record has in addition a superbly reproduced new performance of Rossini's "William Tell" Overture and an excellent dubbing of the old performance—"as fresh and glistening as creation itself"—of "The Skaters Waltz"; the Ormandy a few excerpts from Tchaikovsky's "The Sleeping Beauty." For my taste Stokowski's fussing with a larger number of excerpts under the title "Aurora's Wedding" (Victor) is something to skip; and so is the MGM record of that title.

Litschauer's performance of Copland's "Appalachian Spring" with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard) is reproduced with greater clarity and distinctness than the recent Rother performance (Urania); however the frenetic violin passages in one of the variations on the Shaker melody are heard clearly in the Rother performance but not in the Litschauer. The Vanguard record also offers Copland's "El Salon Mexico," whose treatment of Mexican dance tunes I continue to find inappropriate. A Victor LP has dubbings of Koussevitzky's performances of both pieces with the Boston Symphony—the earlier "Salon Mexico" a little dim, the later "Appalachian Spring" a nearer approximation to the fabulously beautiful sound, and with those violin passages clearer than in the Litschauer performance.

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Letters

Civil Liberties Issue

Dear Sirs: Your special issue was bold and to the point. . . . In your concluding remarks aren't you expecting too much of Mr. Eisenhower? I think the trend toward American fascism is motivated by three power groups—the armed forces, the economic royalists, and the church. . . .

GEORGE MARSDEN
Chicago

Dear Sirs: I want to add my small voice in praise of the Civil Liberties issue. . . . What I particularly liked was the emphasis upon the solid values—the morality, if you will—that must exist if meaningful living is going to be restored to these Benighted States.

EARL T. ANDERSON
Los Altos, Cal.

Dear Sirs: Thank you for your Civil Liberties issue. It was the best possible Christmas present you could give a subscriber. There is still hope for the United States as long as the world can see an issue of *The Nation* such as this.

New York R. L. WILBUR

Dear Sirs: Your issue is magnificent in its penetrating analysis of the disease that afflicts our America. Is there not some way it can reach the President and our Senators and Representatives? . . . I hold a seminar for teachers at our local university and am urging each member to secure a copy.

St. Louis EUGENE E. HERBERT

Dear Sirs: I read your issue with much interest. . . . Most all action these days can be described as the action of zealots. McCarthy is a zealot and so are you and those who oppose or approve him. . . .

JOHN F. MILLER
Highland Park, Mich.

Dear Sirs: Your issue was uniformly good except for the last article, in which you urge the President to do something about the situation. The present Administration went into office to give big business an unobstructed opportunity to loot the nation. Eisenhower will knuckle down to McCarthy rather than change that purpose. He has no intention of changing—and could not if he wished.

Aberdeen, Wash. C. E. PAYNE

Whipping Post

Dear Sirs: Occasionally I wonder about the matter of our comforts, but I haven't spent enough time on the problem to carry it through to a solution even momentarily satisfactory to myself. I usually read with interest whatever articles fall my way on the subject, and I read Allan Seager's Our Dream of Comfort in your issue of last December 12 [Civil Liberties Issue].

This letter was stimulated by one of Mr. Seager's incidental examples of the gadgets which make Americans the envy of all other nations, through some of them, he declares, save neither time nor money.

When I came to the question, "Why are potatoes 'whipped' in an electric mixer when it is obvious they can be done better with a fork and a fork is easier to clean?" I felt unqualified to answer and I asked my wife. Her reply was, "Oh, for about the same reason you light a fire with matches instead of rubbing two sticks together."

I pursued the question in more detail the next day. As she clarified the matter in her own mind, she gradually developed something of a tirade against Mr. Seager and finished by challenging him to a potato-whipping contest. "I'll have mine on the table before he's finished whipping. Mine will have twice the volume of his—they'll be lighter and fluffier. They'll be whiter and taste better. His will be yellow and will sit like a rock in the bottom of the pan. We have whipped potatoes any time we want them now. Our grandfathers had them seldom because whipping by hand is slow and tiring. As to the cleaning, the fork and the beaters are both hard to clean if you let them dry, but both are easy if you put them in water when you're through."

Having got this far we might consider Mr. Seager's answer: "Possibly because owning a mixer . . . evokes pride and wonder." My wife's reply to this is, "Well, I never knew anybody who worked much in a kitchen who regarded a mixer with pride and wonder. They consider it a labor-saving device. Ask Mr. Seager if he has ever made an angel-food cake with a fork. Or meringue for a pie."

FRANCIS COLLINS
Dallas, Tex.

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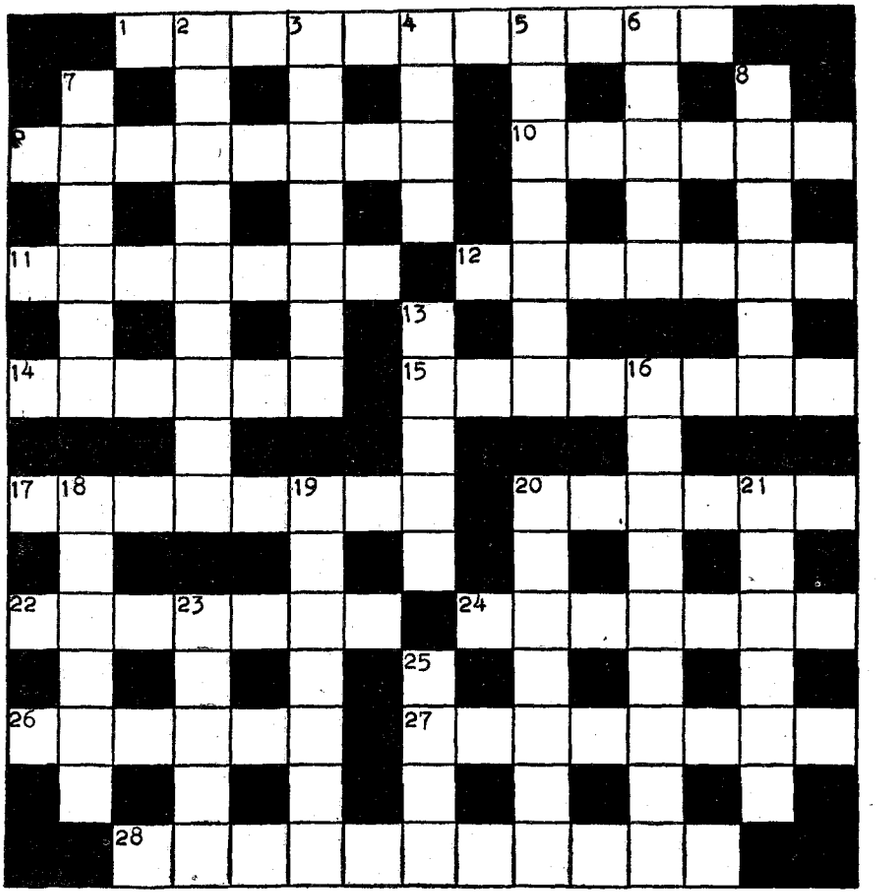
Crossword Puzzle No. 550

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Did Notre Dame have a this last season? (3, 2, 2, 4)
9 Inventors lose nothing by becoming bad spirited businessmen. (8)
10 This is liable to look like the devil! (6)
11 Stravinsky's about to wrong the tribesmen. (7)
12 See 14.
14 and 12. A question of Danish royalty? (2,2,2,3,2,2)
15 An unusual ending in it seems to be lacking. (8)
17 Find gold, perhaps, but no credit to you implied! (4, 4)
20 Smooth tongue? (6)
22 Promote a French student that gets around at the end, almost. (7)
24 It tears a sort of furrow into pieces. (7)
26 An example of a cleaned-up 17, which could be confused with a waggish synonym. (6)
27 The French might say their town's good come-back is put in a bad light. (8)
28 If I'd any severe complication, you shouldn't give the order to depart. (5, 3, 3)

DOWN

2 The way to check a passage, if a recent tip is correct. (9)
3 The sort of 24 that's formed without its place of action. (7)
4 The chest is commonly bankrupt. (4)
5 Is this usually short-sheeted? (7)
6 Emily Dickinson said " 'Tis almost consequence, Is the _____ of death." (5)
7 Misdirected royalty go about making a tree in an alternate version. (6)
8 Copy, perhaps, of an automobile with good foreign design. (6)
13 This title is never left to anybody. (5)
16 In the morning, all I polish is one place. (9)
18 What did the Greeks anagram of it _____ to Mt. Olympus? (6)
19 Dined around a bright spot at night with a once highly placed lady. (7)
20 Usually given its turn before being fired. (7)
21 Decide to rest? (6)
23 The British use this instead of the tube, but it's still in the car. (5)
25 Urges one to have breakfast, perhaps. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 549

ACROSS:—1 and 30 DRAMATIS PERSONAE; 5 CAUCUS; 10 PACED; 11 SPECULATE; 12 RISSOLE; 13 RATCHET; 14 DRY ROT; 15 DECAGON; 18 ILL-USED; 21 ENAMEL; 24 GENERAL; 26 LUCASTA; 28 and 27 DOG IN THE MANGER; 29 DESIST.

DOWN:—1 DEPORT; 2 ANCESTRAL; 4 INSPECT; 6 AQUATIC; 7 and 3 COACH-AND-FOUR; 8 SWEETING; 9 GEARED; 16 GREASE-GUN; 17 FIDGETED; 19 STREAMS; 20 DELUGE; 21 ENLARGE; 22 ARCADES; 23 PAWNEE; 25 NEEDS.

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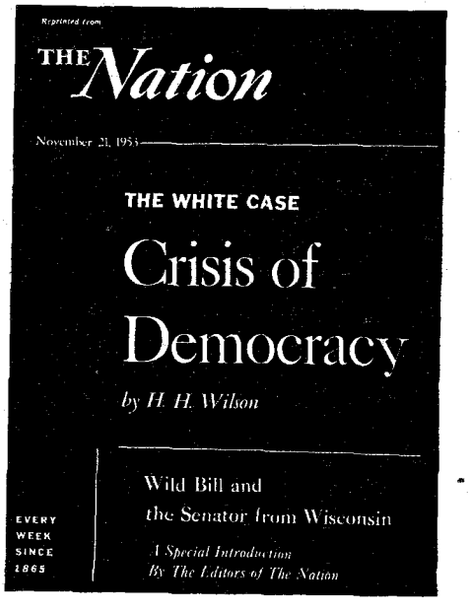
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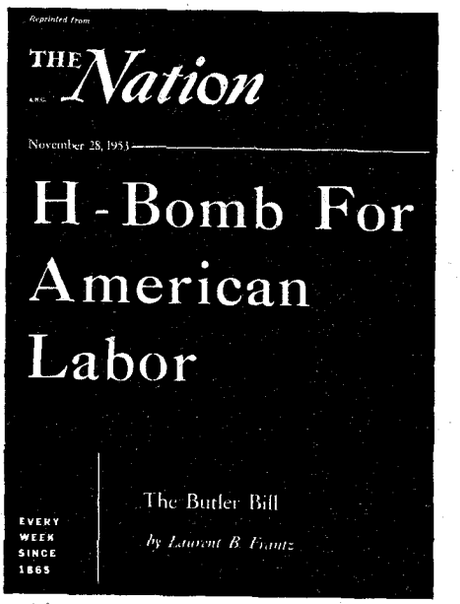

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